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INFO LOG-00 AF-01 AID-01 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 DS-00 EB-01 OIGO-01 H-01 INM-02 TEDE-00 INR-00 JUSE-00 L-01 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 ADS-00 M-00 OMB-01 PRS-01 SNP-00 PA-01 PM-00 P-01 SP-00 SR-00 SS-00 STR-01 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 ASDS-01 PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRM-10 PRME-01 DRL-09 G-00 /052W

-----8B904F 232225Z /38

R 231621Z NOV 94 FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0510 INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 002314

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, EAID, PREF, PHUM, PGOV, KDEM, ASEC, IBRD, RW,

FR, UN

SUBJECT: POSTPONEMENT OF UNDP ROUNDTABLE ANNOUNCED

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU CALLED TOGETHER RESIDENT DONOR COM'S ON NOVEMBER 23 TO ANNOUNCE THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE UNDP ROUNDTABLE UNTIL MID-JANUARY. HE EXPLAINED THAT THE GOR WANTED TO RECEIVE BILATERAL FEEDBACK FROM THE DONORS AND SAID THAT THE GOR WOULD MAKE A PUBLIC DECLARATION OF ITS POSITION ON GOVERNANCE ISSUES AT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 02314 01 OF 02 231637Z ROUNDTABLE. HE INVITED THE ASSEMBLED COM'S TO COMMENT ON THE PROPOSALS. IT WAS AN IMPRESSIVE PERFORMANCE ON TWAGIRAMUNGU'S PART, AND IN OUR VIEW A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

- 3. TWAGIRAMUNGU OPENED BY STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE HE PLACED ON THE MEETING. HE OUTLINED THE GENESIS OF THE ROUNDTABLE AND SAID THAT THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED TO THE MINISTERS THE DAY BEFORE. HE SAID THAT THE GOR WOULD APPROVE THE DOCUMENT, AMENDED AS NECESSARY, AND APPROACH THE DONORS FOR THEIR REACTION. THIS WOULD REQUIRE TIME, AND HE PROPOSED POSTPONEMENT OF THE ROUNDTABLE UNTIL MID-JANUARY, SPECIFICALLY, JANUARY 14 AND 15. THE PRIME MINISTER ADDED THAT THE ROUNDTABLE WAS AN "ABSOLUTE NECESSITY" AND THAT THE GOR NEEDED TO DETERMINE ITS OBJECTIVES BEFORE MOVING AHEAD. THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOULD DISCUSS THIS AT GREATER LENGTH THE FOLLOWING DAY. HE APOLOGIZED FOR ANY INCONVENIENCE A POSTPONEMENT MIGHT CAUSE AND OPENED THE FLOOR FOR COMMENT.
- 4. THE RESREP OF THE IBRD, WHICH HAS CRITICIZED ROUNDTABLE PREPARATIONS AS TOO PRECIPITOUS, SAID THAT THE IBRD HAD NO PROBLEM WITH THE DATES. HE OFFERED TWO SUGGESTIONS: FIRST, THAT THERE BE SUFFICIENT TIMES FOR DONORS TO GIVE THE GOR THEIR IMPRESSIONS OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT; SECOND, THAT HUMANITARIAN AID AND REHABILITATION BE LINKED. SINCE THERE IS A CLEAR OVERLAP IN MANY AREAS, THEY SHOULD BE EXAMINED IN A COMPLEMENTARY FRAMEWORK. THE UNDP RESREP NOTED THAT THE CONSOLIDATED APPEAL FOR HUMANITARIAN AID WAS ON FOR JANUARY 7. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE TIMING -- TWO MEETINGS JUST ONE WEEK APART -- MIGHT NEGATIVELY INFLUENCE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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OUTCOME OF THE ROUNDTABLE. (COMMENT. THE IBRD, WHICH IN
KIGALI HAS STRONGLY OPPOSED A PRECIPITOUS APPROACH, WINS
THIS ROUND FROM THE UNDP, WHICH WAS SET TO MOVE AHEAD. WE
NOTE THAT THE IBRD BOARD EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS WILL NOT MEET
ON RWANDA UNTIL FEBRUARY: A JANUARY ROUNDTABLE WILL PERMIT
THEM TO REACT TO ANY PLEDGE IN A MORE TIMELY FASHION. END
COMMENT.)

5. TWAGIRAMUNGU STATED THAT THE GOR WAS NOT LOOKING FOR ELOQUENT DISCOURSES ON THE MILLIONS OF REFUGEES ABROAD THE

TOTAL COLLAPSE OF THE ECONOMY AND MECHANISMS OF GOVERNMENT. EVERYONE KNEW WHERE THINGS STOOD. THEY WERE ACUTELY AWARE OF THEIR PROBLEMS. THE GOR, HE EMPHASIZED, SOUGHT SOLID ENGAGEMENTS -- NEGATIVE OR POSITIVE -- THAT WOULD LET IT PLAN FOR THE FUTURE. THAT IS WHY ADVANCE DONOR FEEDBACK WOULD BE ESSENTIAL. (COMMENT. WE THINK THAT THE GOR DOES NOT WANT TO GET PUBLICLY SANDBAGGED IF DONOR RESPONSE IS LIMITED. END COMMENT.)

- 6. THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE ASKED WHEN THE DONORS WOULD SEE THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT, THUS ALLOWING THEM TO PROVIDE FEEDBACK AND AVOID DIVERGENCE AT THE ROUNDTABLE. CLEARLY NONPLUSSED, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE DONORS HAD SEEN THE DOCUMENT ALREADY. THE DONORS REPLIED THAT THEY HAD NOT. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE THE DOCUMENT DELIVERED TO THE DONORS BY LATE AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 28, BARRING THE UNFORESEEN. HE COMPLIMENTED THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE ON THE "POSITIVE" STATEMENT BY THE FRENCH COOPERATION MINISTER THE DAY BEFORE. THE LATTER BEAMED.
- 7. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR RAISED TWO POINTS. HE NOTED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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THE DONORS HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE CONSOLIDATED APPEAL AND THE ROUNDTABLE MIGHT BE SCHEDULED TOGETHER. HERE DID THIS STAND? HE AGREED THAT ADVANCE CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOR MIGHT BE HELPFUL BUT ASKED IF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT WAS A COMBINATION OF THE TWO DOCUMENTS ORIGINALLY PROPOSED, ONE ON REHABILITATION AND THE SECOND ON GOVERNANCE. THE UNDP RESREP REJOINED THAT THE GOR HAD EXAMINED SEVERAL POSSIBLE SCENARIOS AND DECIDED TO SPLIT THE TWO MEETINGS AND MELD THE DOCUMENTS. SINCE THE ROUNDTABLE WAS THE INITIATIVE OF THE GOR AND THE APPEAL OF THE U.N., IT WAS THE GOR'S CALL.

8. TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID THAT THE GOR WOULD DEFER TO THE DONORS ON THE FIRST POINT. HE CONTINUED THAT THE GOR WOULD MAKE A PUBLIC DECLARATION ON GOVERNANCE AT THE ROUNDTABLE; THIS WOULD BE PART AND PARCEL OF THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT. BY DEFINITION, THIS PART OF THE ROUNDTABLE WOULD ENGAGE THE GOR TO CONCRETE ACTIONS ON A RANGE OF ISSUES, INCLUDING REINTEGRATION OF THE ARMED FORCES (RPA/FAR). HE COULD NOT

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GUARANTEE THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIVERGENCES WITH THE DONORS, ESPECIALLY ON THE QUESTION OF A BROADER BASED GOVERNMENT. HE FLATLY STATED THAT THE ETHNIC ANALYSIS FAVORED BY SOME DONORS IS NOT CORREGT: HUTUS ARE REPRESENTED IN GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS, INCLUDING

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ACTION IO-16

INFO	LOG-00	AF-01	AID-01	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DS-00
	EB-01	OIGO-01	H-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	JUSE-00
	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00
	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	ASDS-01	PMB-00
	DSCC-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-00	/052W	

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 002314

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HIS OWN.

9. HE TURNED TO A SECOND NETTLESOME ISSUE, THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES. HE SAID THAT HE WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE GOR'S CHIEF PREOCCUPATION WAS THE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES. WITHOUT THIS THERE WOULD NEVER BE STABILITY, SECURITY, RECONCILIATION, OR DEMOCRACY. HE SAID THAT THE GOR WAS READY TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SEPARATE PERSONS CONFIDENTIAL

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IN THE CAMPS. THE GOR HAD SIGNED AN ACCORD WITH THE GOZ AND
WAS READY TO OPEN WELCOME CENTERS FOR RETURNEES BUT WANTED
TO REINTEGRATE THEM AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE INTO THEIR
COMMUNES OF ORIGIN.

- 10. TWAGIRAMUNGU STRESSED THAT THIS WOULD REQUIRE RESOURCES. THE RETURNEES WOULD NEED SEEDS, TOOLS, AND FOOD. THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO RESOURCES TO PROVIDE THESE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, RETURNEES WOULD NEED SECURITY. THE GOR WANTED TO GUARANTEE THIS BUT DID NOT HAVE THE REQUIRED RESOURCES. HE NOTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAD REPEATEDLY TOLD THE GOR THAT THE REFUGEES ARE AFRAID TO RETURN BECAUSE THE RPA REMAINS IN THE VILLAGES. IF THEY WERE NOT THERE, HE OBSERVED, THERE WOULD BE NO ONE AT ALL TO PROVIDE SECURITY. THE GOR DID NOT HAVE THE MEANS TO HIRE, TRAIN, AND PAY CIVILIAN POLICE. IT DID NOT EVEN HAVE THE MONEY TO PAY OR FEED THE RPA, LET ALONE PUT THEM IN MILITARY CAMPS. HE SAID THAT DONOR DEMANDS FOR PERFORMANCE WERE "INCREDIBLE" IN THE CONTEXT OF PRESENT DONOR RETICENCE ABOUT AID.
- 11. THE UNDP RESREP ANNOUNCED THAT BASED UPON THE PRESENT EXPERIENCE, THE UNDP HAD REMOVED "GOVERNANCE" FROM ITS JARGON BECAUSE OF DIFFERENT CONNOTATIONS BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH DEFINITIONS OF THE WORK. THE IBRD RESREP SAID THAT THE DECLARATION ON GOVERNANCE WOULD BE INDISPENSABLE. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT BONN CLOSES UP NEAR THE CHRISTMAS SEASON AND THOUGHT THAT THE POSTPONEMENT WAS FORTUITOUS. IT WOULD PROVIDE AMPLE TIME FOR THE FRG TO PREPARE ITS POSITIONS. THE U.S. CHARGE NOTED THAT JANUARY 14 AND 15 FALL ON A WEEKEND. ALL AGREED THAT JANUARY 17 AND

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- 12. COMMENT. WE HAD EARLIER HEARD RUMORS THAT DEBATE WITHIN THE GOR ON GOVERNANCE HAD STALLED DECISIONS ON THE FINAL GOR POSITION. ALL CONSIDERED, HOWEVER, THE POSTPONEMENT IS NOT SUCH A BAD DEVELOPMENT. THE GOR'S NEEDS ARE URGENT, BUT A RUSH TO A ROUDTABLE WITH INSUFFICIENT LEAD TIME -- AND ONE TO WHICH THE GOR DOES NOT BRING A SINGLE, UNIFIED FOCUS -- COULD END IN FIASCO. THE GOR'S REQUEST FOR ADVANCE FEEDBACK ON THE FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT AND INSISTENCE THAT THE DONORS MAKE THE CALL ON TWINNING THE ROUNDTABLE AND THE APPEAL WILL REQUIRE WASHINGTON INPUT. PLEASE INSTRUCT.
- 13. FURTHER COMMENT. TWAGIRAMUNGU PRESENTED THE GOR POSITION IN A FORCEFUL AND ORGANIZED FASHION. WE WERE VERY FAVORABLY IMPRESSED.

WHITEHEAD

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